

Cahiers du
MONDE RUSSE

Cahiers du monde russe

Russie - Empire russe - Union soviétique et États
indépendants

42/2-4 | 2001

La police politique en Union soviétique, 1918-1953

The Great terror in the provinces of the USSR, 1937-1938

A cooperative bibliography

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Édition électronique

URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/monderusse/8474>

DOI : 10.4000/monderusse.8474

ISSN : 1777-5388

Éditeur

Éditions de l'EHESS

Édition imprimée

Date de publication : 1 avril 2001

Pagination : 679-696

ISBN : 2-7132-1398-3

ISSN : 1252-6576

Référence électronique

Rolf BINNER, Marc JUNG et Terry MARTIN, « The Great terror in the provinces of the USSR, 1937-1938 », *Cahiers du monde russe* [En ligne], 42/2-4 | 2001, mis en ligne le 01 janvier 2007, Consulté le 20 avril 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/monderusse/8474> ; DOI : 10.4000/monderusse.8474

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| Editions de l'EHESS | *Cahiers du monde russe*

2001/2-3-4 - Vol 42

ISSN 1252-6576 | ISBN 2713213983 | pages 679 à 696

Pour citer cet article :

—BINNER R., JUNG M. et MARTIN T., The Great terror in the provinces of the USSR, 1937-1938. A cooperative bibliography, *Cahiers du monde russe* 2001/ 2-3-4, Vol 42, p. 679-696.

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ROLF BINNER, MARC JUNGE, TERRY MARTIN

THE GREAT TERROR IN THE PROVINCES OF THE USSR, 1937-1938

A cooperative bibliography

Introduction

The goal of this bibliography is simple: to draw the attention of specialists to a large body of scattered publications related to the mass operations of the Great Terror in the Soviet provinces. We are professional historians, not bibliographers, and we make no claim to have tracked down every single relevant work. Our major effort was devoted to finding primary documentary sources. The section on secondary sources is much more haphazard. We tried to include primarily works related to the provinces and those based on new archival materials. If your own work does not appear in the list, this is certainly due to an oversight on our part, rather than any calculated slight.

We call this a “cooperative bibliography” because we put it together by asking friends and colleagues in the field of Soviet history to send us citations. We are grateful to the following individuals for their assistance: J. Baberowski (Tubingen), V. Birger (Krasnoiarsk), J. Bone (Chicago), J. Burds (Boston), R. W. Davies (Birmingham), M. Ellmann (Amsterdam), A. Getty (Los Angeles), A. Graziosi (Rome), L. Gvozdkova (Kemerovo), W. Hedeler (Berlin), M. Jansen (Amsterdam), B. Lvin (Washington), R. Manning (Boston), B. McLoughlin (Vienna), N. Okhotin (Moscow), S. Papkov (Novosibirsk), G. Rittersporn (Berlin), N. Rytsk (Moscow), Y. Shapoval (Kyiv), A. Stepanov (Kazan'), E. Topinka (L'viv), V. Vasil'ev (Kyiv), S. Vatlin (Moscow), L. Viola (Toronto), S. Wheatcroft (Melbourne).

We would like to continue to up-date this bibliography. Please send further citations to Marc.Junge@ruhr-uni-bochum.de

Cahiers du Monde russe, 42/2-3-4, Avril-décembre 2001, pp. 679-696.

We begin with a list of the major NKVD decrees related to the mass operations of the Great Terror and continue with a list of primary and secondary sources. We have used the transliteration system of the U.S. Library of Congress throughout.

I NKVD decrees, circulars and instructions governing the mass operations of the Great Terror, 1937-1938

The following is a list of the major NKVD decrees, circulars and instructions that governed the mass operations of the Great Terror. It is almost certainly incomplete since access to the former KGB archive in Moscow is severely limited. We have included those decrees that have been published or referred to in published works. The two most important decrees were *prikaz* 00447, that governed the campaign targeting former kulaks, criminals and numerous other “former peoples,” and *prikaz* 00485 that served as the paradigm for the various “national operations” of the Great Terror.¹

Prikaz 00439 (25.07.1937) “Ob operatsii po repressirovaniu germanskikh poddanykh, podozrevavshikh v shpionazhe protiv SSSR.”

Prikaz 00447 (30.07.1937) “Ob operatsii po repressirovaniu byvshikh kulakov, ugolovnikov i dr[ugikh] antisovetskikh elementov.”

Tsirkuliar 409 (05.08.1937) “Operatsiia po repressirovaniu naibolee aktivnykh antisovetskikh elementov [...] v lageriakh.”

Tsirkuliar 61 (07.08.1937) [Usilenie bor'by s grabiteliami i ugolovnikami-retsdivistami].

Prikaz 00485 (11.08.1937) “Ob operatsii po repressirovaniu chlenov 'POV', voennoplennykh pol'skoi armii, perebezhchikov iz Pol'shi, politemigrantov i politobmennyykh iz Pol'shi, byvshikh chlenov PPS i drugikh pol'skikh politicheskikh partii.”

Prikaz 00486 (15.08.1937) “Ob operatsii po repressirovaniu zhen izmennikov rodiny.”

Tsirkuliar 59190 (16.08.1937) “Operatsiia po repressirovaniu naibolee aktivnykh kontrrevoliucionnykh elementov [...] v tiurmakh GUGB.”

Tsirkuliar 68 (22.08.37) “Ob inostrantsakh.”

Prikaz 00593 (20.09.1937) “Ob operatsii po repressirovaniu byvshikh sluzhashchikh 'Kitaisko-Vostochnoi zheleznoi dorogi i reemigrantov iz Manchzhou-Go' (kharbintsy).”

Prikaz 00693 (23.10.1937) “Ob operatsii po repressirovaniu perebezhchikov- narushitelei gosgranitsy SSSR.”

Prikaz 00698 (28.10.1937) “O konsul'skikh svyaziakh.”

Memorandum 49990 (30.11.1937) “Latyshskaia operatsiia.”

Prikaz 50215 (11.12.1937) “Operatsiia po arestam grekov” [unpublished].

1. Prikaz 00447 is discussed in the essay by Junge and Binner in this volume. Prikaz 00485 has been brilliantly analyzed in N. V. Petrov and A. B. Roginskii, “Pol'skaia operatsiia NKVD, 1937-1938 gg.,” in *Repressii protiv poliakov* (Moscow, 1997): 22-43.

- Tsirkuliar 52691** (22.12.37) "O repressiiakh sredi kitaitsev" [unpublished].
- Direktiva 17089** (18.01.1938) "Ob operativnykh meropriiatiakh po eseram" [unpublished].
- Prikaz 202** (29.01.1938) "Ob arestakh irantsev" [unpublished].
- Direktiva 17231** (14.02.1938) [Ob operativnykh meropriiatiach po men'shevikam i anarkhistam] [unpublished].
- Tsirkuliar 326** (16.02.1938) "O repressiiakh sredi afgantsev" [unpublished].
- Prikaz 00606** (17.09.1938) "Ob obrazovanii osobykh troek dlia rassmotreniia del na arestovannykh v poriadke prikazov NKVD SSSR Nr. 00485 i dr[ugikh]" [This *prikaz* concerns exclusively the national operations, not *prikaz* 00447].
- Tsirkuliar** (21.09.1938) zamestitelia narodnogo komissara vnutrennikh del L. Berii o raz'iasnenii primeneniia prikaza 00606.
- Postanovlenie P4387** (17.11.1938) Soveta Narodnykh Komissarov SSSR i Tsentral'nogo Komiteta SSSR VKP(b) "Ob arestakh, prokurorskom nadzore i vedenii sledstviia."
- Prikaz 00762** (26.11.1938) "O poriadke osushchestvleniia postanovleniia SNK SSSR i TsK VKP(b) ot 17 noiabria 1938 g."
- Direktiva 2709** (26.12.1938) NKVD i Prokurora SSSR "Ob otmene reshenii byv. troek NKVD."

In the bibliography we note in bold works where the complete text of NKVD decrees have been published.

II Documentary publications

We have included in our list of documentary publications numerous "memorial books" (*knigi pamiati*). These books owe their existence to the persistent efforts of relatives and human rights organizations, above all Memorial, to memorialize the victims of the Great Terror (or of Soviet repression more generally). These books list standard biographical data concerning the victims (birth date and place, profession, nationality, place of residence). Others also provide information concerning social origin, education, Party membership, previous convictions as well as the date of arrest, sentencing (including the article of the criminal code, the sentence itself and the sentencing body) and execution. A drawback of these books is that they almost never include those convicted as ordinary criminals. Many of the memorial books also include extensive valuable documentary materials from local and central KGB archives, as well as autobiographical memoirs from survivors. A nearly complete collection of these memorial books can be found in the library of Memorial-Moscow (Malyi Karenyi pereulok 12, phone: 200-6506) or in the library of the Sakharov Fund (ul. Semlianoi val. 57, stroenie 6, phone: 923-4401). The addresses of local web sites of Memorial can be found in A. Iutkin, "Sluchainye nakhodki v nesluchainom puteshestvii," *Russkaia mysl'* (02-08.11.2000), p. 11. The web site for Memorial-Moscow also has an extensive list of memorial books: www.memo.ru

- "Belaia kniga."* *O deportatsii koreiskogo naseleniia Rossii v 30–40-kh godakh.* T. 1. Sost. LI U. Khe. and KIM En Un. (Moscow, 1992).
- Belaia kniga. O zhertvakh politicheskikh repressii: Samarskaia oblast'.* T. 1-14. Preds. red. soveta POPKOV N. E. (Samara, 1993-2000).
- Bol' liudskaia. Kniga pamiati tolichei, repressirovannykh v 30–40-e i nachale 50-kh godov.* T. 1 (1991), t. 2 (1992), t. 3 (1992), t. 4 (1994), t. 5 (1999). Sost. UIMANOV V. N. (Tomsk, 1991-1999).
- Bol' proshedschaia skvoz' gody.* Sost. PAVLOV S. M. (Kemerovo, 2000).
- Butovskii poligon. 1937-1938 gg. Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii.* T. 1-5. Sost. GOLOVKOVA L. A., LIUBIMOVA K. F. et al. (Moscow, 1997-2001) [**Prikazy 00485, 00593** in t. 1].
- Chas "chornoho vorona." *Narisi* (Kirovohrad, 1995).
- FEOFANOV IU., "Rasstrel po 1-i kategorii," *Izvestiia* (03.04.1996): 1, 5 [*Politbiuro resolutions "Ob antisovetskikh elementakh" of 24.09.1937, 03.12.1937, 31.01.1938, 17.02.1938, 15.09.1938 and letters from provincial Party and NKVD leaders to TsK, Stalin, and Ezhov asking for higher quotas for repression*].
- GARROS V., KORENEVSKAIA N. and LAHUSEN T., eds, *Intimacy and terror. Soviet diaries of the 1930s* (New York, 1995).
- GETTY J. A. and NAUMOV O. V., *The road to terror. Stalin and the self-destruction of the Bolsheviks, 1932-1939* (New Haven, 1999).
- GEVORKIIAN N., "Vstrechnye plany po unichtozheniiu sobstvennogo naroda," *Moskovskie novosti*, 25 (21.06.1992): 18-19 [*List of troika members "po prikazu 00447," Politbiuro resolutions "Ob antisovetskikh elementakh" of 1937/1938, and letters from provincial Party and NKVD leaders to TsK, Stalin, and Ezhov asking for higher quotas for repression*].
- Gody terrora. Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii.* T. 1-2. Sost. SUSLOV A. and GASHEVA N. (Perm', 1998-2000).
- GULAG (Glavnoe upravlenie lagerei). 1917-1960.* Sost. KOKURIN A. I. and PETROV N. V. (Moscow, 2000) [**Prikazy 00447, 00485 and 00486**].
- GULag v Karelii. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov 1930-1941.* Sost. ZHUKOV A. IU., MAKUROV V. G. and PETUKHOVA I. G. (Petrozavodsk, 1992).
- GULag v Komi krae, 1929-1956.* Sost. MOROZOV N. A. (Syktyvkar, 1997).
- GVOZDKOVA L., *Prinuditel'nyi trud. Ispravitel'no-trudovye lageria v Kuzbasse (30–50-e gg.).* T. 1-2 (Kemerovo, 1994).
- Iz bezdny nebytii. Kniga pamiati repressirovannykh kaluzhan.* T. 1-3; A-IA. Sost. KALINICHENKO IU. I., LISIANSKII V. IU. and MONIKOVSKAIA N. P. (Kaluga, 1993-1994).
- Iz istorii zemli Tomskoi. 1937. Sibirskii Belostok. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov.* Sost. KHANEVICH V. A. (Tomsk, 1998) [*Great Terror in a Siberian village with Polish population*].
- Iz istorii zemli Tomskoi. God 1937. Sbornik dokumentov i materialov.* Sost. BONDARENKO A. A., MARKOV V. I. and TRENIN B. P. (Tomsk, 1998) [*Includes statistics*].
- Iz t'my zabvenii: Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii. 1918-1954.* T. 1: *Rossiiskaia Federatsiia. Astrakhanskaia oblast'.* A-IA. Sost. VOLODIN E. M. et al. (Astrakhan', 2000).

- Khotelos' by vseh poimanno nazvat'. Kniga-martirolog. T. 1: A-K. [Khabarovskii kraj].* Sost. LAVRENTSOV A. P., TARAN M. M. and BESPALOVA T. G. (n.p. n.d.).
- Khotelos' by vseh poimanno nazvat'... Po materialam sledstvennykh del i lagernykh ochetov GULAGa.* Sost. OSIPOVA I. (Moscow, 1993).
- Kniga pamiati. Martirolog katolicheskoi tserkvi v SSSR.* Sost. CHAPLITSKII B. and OSIPOVA I. (Moscow, 2000).
- Kniga pamiati. Posviashchaetsia tagil'chanam — zhertvam repressii 1917–1980-kh godov.* Sost. KIRILLOV V. M. (Ekaterinburg, 1994).
- Kniga pamiati zheleznodorozhnikov — zhertv politicheskikh repressii 1937-1938 gg., zakhoronennykh na Levashovskom memorial'nom kladbishche. T. 1.* Sost. VOL'SKII E. V. (SPb, 2000).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii (20–50-e gg.).* Sost. DASHINSKII S. N., VORONIN V. V. and NECHUSHKIN V. A. (Murmansk, 1997).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Kalininskoi oblasti. Martirolog 1937-1938.* T. 1. Sost. KRAVTSOVA E. I. (Tver', 2000).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Kemerovskoi oblasti. T. 1-2.* Sost. GVOZDKOVA L. I. (Kemerovo, 1995-1996).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Kirovskoi oblasti. T. 1-3.* Sost. LEGOTIN V. V. et al. (Kirov, 2000).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Kurskoi oblasti. T. 1-3.* Sost. VLASOVA L. T., SATALKIN N. V., SOSNOVA L. I. et al. (Kursk, 1996-2000).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii v Nizhegorodskoi oblasti. T. 1-2.* Sost. GOLUBINOVA A. N., GUSEV M. I., ZHILTSOV V. I. et al. (Nizhnii Novgorod, 1997-2001).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Novgorodskoi oblasti. T. 1-7.* Sost. IVANOV S. A., MAZANKINA N. A. and TRABER N. N. (Novgorod, 1993-1997).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii v Orenburgskoi oblasti.* Sost. ERMAKOV G. V. (Kaluga, 1998).
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- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii [Respubliki Altai]. T. 1-2.* Sost. CHEPKIN P. I., VRAZOVSKAIA O. N. and BURAK T. A. (Gorno-Altai, 1996-1998).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Respubliki Bashkortostan. T. 1: A-V, t. 2: G-I, t. 3: K-M.* Sost. VALEEV R. A. et al. (Ufa, 1997, 1999, 2001).
- Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii Respubliki Khakasii. T. 1-2.* Sost. ABDIN N. S. (Abakan, 1999-2000).
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- "Limity terroru," *Karta*, 11 (1993): 8-15 [Prikaz 00447 in Polish translation].
- LOSHYTS'KYI O., "'Laboratoriia'. Novi dokumenty i svidchennia pro masovi represii 1937-1938 rokiv na Vinnychchyni," *Z arkhiviv VUChK-GPU-NKVD-KGB*, 1-2 (1998).
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- Ne predat' zabveniiu. Kniga pamiati repressirovannykh v 30-40-e i nachale 50-kh godov, sviazannykh sud'bami s Iaroslavskoi oblast'iu. T. 1-5. Sost. GOLIKOV V. P., KONOPLIN A. V. and ZHOKHOVA G. A. (Iaroslavl', 1993-1998) [T. 2-5 with a new subtitle: *Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii, sviazannykh sud'bami s Iaroslavskoi oblast'iu. T. 4 has Politbiuro resolutions from 1937-1938].**

- Ne predat' zabveniiu: Kniga pamiati zhertv politicheskikh repressii.* T.1-10. Sost. KORNEEV N. P. (Pskov, 1996-2000).
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- Odesskii martirolog. Dannye o repressirovannykh Odessy i Odesskoi oblasti za gody sovetsskoi vlasti.* T. 1-2. Sost. KOVAL'CHUK L. V. and RAZUMOV G. A. (Odessa, 1997-1999) [Includes statistical charts].
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